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Maricopa

304 tattooing at the eyes, like the Pima, nor did the men bear it on the chin, like the Mohave. Body and legs seem not to have borne this decoration. Male decoration consisted only of a series of vertical lines covering the whole forehead or a zigzag line. Women had two straight narrow lines drawn downward on the chin from each corner of the mouth. Occasionally the narrow spaces between each pair of lines was solidly filled just at the corner of the mouth. Many of the older women of the Maricopa community today bear this decoration. The lines are invariably narrow, nearly vertical, and about a half inch apart. The outer lines are not quite at the corners of the mouth. The dye spreads along the lower margin of the lips. My informant knew that Mohave women and others in the vicinity had the chin area filled in, but stated that Halchidhoma women never had this. Sometimes women bore above the elbow of one arm a double line drawn like an S.

●[881] The tattooing was done only at puberty: to a girl at first menstruation,[22] to a boy when his voice began to change. Any expert woman did it for either. She was not paid, nor need she be a relative nor of any particular age. The process, which took a few hours, was without ritual. Yet those who were not tattooed [775] would not be able to enter the land of the dead.

Cactus thorns were held in a row between the fingers, eight or nine together. When blood flowed from the punctures, a black [886] mineral from the mountains was rubbed in, the spot washed off, and puncturing begun again. It was said that when arm or forehead was tattooed, there was no soreness, but the lip became so sore and swollen that one could not eat. Yet nothing was done to salve the soreness.

Some men had the nasal septum pierced. These were brave men: "this stands for bravery." In war such men were obliged always to go forward. A boy's septum was pierced when his voice [881] began to change. An expert man was chosen; then the septum would not get sore. He made the perforation with a sharpened twig of an unidentified bush and inserted a cotton string to keep 301 the hole open until it healed. The nasal pendant (xamsuwl'n)

[22] See p. 326.

787 [533] learned, the person then smeared ashes over the man's lips, and, turning his back on him, struck him on the mouth, taking away the song. He told his daughters it was taken away because he talked too much. He was a notorious chatterer.

787 831 [938] While it was decidedly advantageous for one to begin dreaming while still a child, there was real danger in overdoing it, in dreaming too much. A boy or girl "who dreamed too much of any one thing" would suffer a change of sex. "They had, in fact, too much of this dreaming; that is why they changed their mode of life. The change was caused by some spirit." Transvestites were never shamans; although they had been given the power to cure and sing, they had been given too much. The other spirits might interfere, taking the boy and changing him into a woman. Sex changed at puberty, "about the time the voice changed." [881]

787 823 838 On the other hand, the same informant ascribed the transformation to a dream of a specific type. It was believed the Sierra Estrella had a berdache living inside, hence the name of the mountain, 'vial,xa", "berdache mountain." "Any man who dreams of this will become a berdache." Another mountain at Yuma, called by the same name, also had the power to transform men. "As one sees them in dreams, the two mountains are young girls." The Sierra Estrella invited the mountain at Yuma to play games. If the Yuma mountain, e.g., lost, then the Yuma lost a man; he became a berdache. ("But to us as we now look at it, we would never think it could do this.")

The signs of transformation came early in childhood; which corroborates the statements that all courses of dreaming began at that time.

838 [868] When a boy begins to toddle, they would not think of letting him run around without bow and arrow, nor a little girl without a basket to use like her mother. But if the boy was going to become a berdache (ll,axai': cf. cll,axai'g, "girlish," macaxai, "girl"), he threw away his bow and took a basket or continually used a metate. Older people would comment, "He is going to turn out to be a berdache"; by his actions, they knew he would change sex.

If they did not wish to embarrass transvestites by calling them ll,axai', the word yĕsa'a'n, "barren man or woman," was used.

568 838 Such transformations were rare. Kutox remembered but one berdache in his day and another in the previous generation, with not more than one transformed woman at a time. Berdaches behaved like women; gathering mesquite, etc. They always went about with women, not with men. They married men and had

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533 never tells how he got there. He always stops telling before that
[539] point."

Salt was sung by old men and women "at the time they killed or captured an enemy" (war dance as well as scalp dance?).

Seal (i.e., fasten) was "probably sung when they killed an enemy, because it was not sung for mere amusement." It may refer to sealing the cover on the jar in which scalps were stored.

Tatuma'npig was the name of both dance and song at the
• [881] Maricopa girls' puberty rite. The song referred to purifying the girl, making her strong and industrious, dignified, kind, gentle, able to withstand thirst, to run well, and the like. The dance
[535] form was a line of girls with the menstruant at the middle facing a line of men, both moving backward and forward together. Last Star pointed out that this was not the song *Tuma'np*, a Kohuana song sung for happiness and when going to war by old men and women.

Tuma'np̣ko'lis, "long tuma'np," was sung by Maricopa; a wholly different song from tuma'np. It was called "long" (ko'-lis) because "it holds," drags. A few old men and women would
[534] gather to sit singing this when they were happy, accompanying themselves with a gourd rattle.

533 A single song of this cycle was recorded as follows:
539

xikwai	amo'likwai	amo'likwai	amuwa'ṇkol[?]
xikwai	amo'li		
the giver	[an exclamation?]		[meaningless]
xiyai'awi'valčm			
vawi'm			
he did this			

Repeat all this twice.

The song was said to relate how a certain bird or animal did something.

533 *Tcutŏ'xàm* (meaning unknown) was sung by Maricopa, Pima,
[171] and "probably all others here." It was sung when they started to look for a nest of bees which young boys were expected to exterminate. "This represents going to war." The song was not dreamed, "but a man who knows how sings it." Its content was a strange combination: it told of plentiful crops and water; then

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561 infancy, pre-adolescence and puberty, on parenthood, and on reaching the status of grandparenthood or menopause.

For example, Charlie Redbird, newly made a grandfather, was called kwuʀáδ'k, to the amusement of his second wife, although he was only in his late forties.

TABLE IX

	Males	Females
Infant of either sex to about 4 years old..	xuma' ʀâ*	
A boy from 4 years to puberty (change of voice); a girl from 4 to 8 years.....	xuma'ʀáikl'ą	xuma'ʀáχatcl'ą
Until a first child was born.....	máχai'	máchχai'
Adult.....	ipa'	sínyaδ'k
Old age (after a man had a grandchild; a woman reached menopause).....	kwuʀáδ'k	δk„yoi'

* Cf. xumal', a man's son.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS

171 881 Puberty observances concerned girls alone: there was no comparable rite for boys unless the bee-killing ordeal be so considered. Nor, since the vision quest was almost wholly absent, was this an appropriate occasion for obtaining power. The girl's rite aligns with those of southern California in its emphasis on concern for the girl's future physiological well-being, with the [184] "roasting" of the girl an essential. Like the Mohave, the girl was not sung over, but unlike them, and on the other hand like other southern Californians and the upland peoples of Arizona, a dance was held and the girl forced to run at dawn toward the east. On the whole, the impression prevails that here the girl's rite was relatively unimpressive and unimportant.

881 At her first period, a girl was secluded in a little lodge for eight days. During this period she sat all day long (but did not lie), doing nothing, until late in the evening when she was allowed to sleep. She remained alone, so that she would have no one to talk with and thus would avoid growing garrulous. They did not sing

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over her at this point in the proceedings, as they knew the Pima did. "We keep her just as quiet as we can. We do not make any noise around her." She was given very little food and then only pinole (a gruel of ground parched wheat); in earlier times mesquite bean gruel. She must particularly avoid meat and salt. She could not touch herself with her fingers: should she use them to touch her head, her hair would fall out. Instead she used a little stick, but could scratch only very lightly. This was prepared by her parents of arrowweed or mesquite. (It was not worn hung about the neck as elsewhere.) This was some six inches long; to the butt was attached by a short willow cord, a bundle of willow bark with which to wipe her face. Her head was plastered all over every night, thinking she might forget and touch her hair. On the first four nights, this was mud mixed with pounded black mesquite bark; on the second four, mud alone. Each morning, as she bathed, she washed this off, so that her hair would be dry before the sun rose. Her face up to the eyes was solidly painted a dark red. This was prepared by mixing red paint with the black liquor obtained by boiling mesquite bark. Her sole garment was a cotton skirt, newly made for the occasion. At the end of the period, it was thrown into the river, never burned. No ornaments were worn.

There is some difference of opinion as to the activities of this period. The old Halchidhoma, Kutox, stated that the girl had to run every morning before sunrise in order that she might learn endurance, to stand the heat, and run tirelessly on long journeys. She was accompanied by two good female runners, one on either side, but not holding her by her arms. For the first four mornings, they ran with her to the river where all three bathed; on the second four, they ran toward the east, returning with her to bathe again. During the second four days, she was subjected to "baking" (pa'vŭg, the word for baking food). She lay in a hollow in the sand outside the hut and was covered with sand. A fire had been previously built in this and the coals raked carefully away. There she lay until the sand cooled. The process began at mid-morning: she emerged about noon, when it was suffi-

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Kohuana

Mohave
Halchidoma

881 ciently warm in the air. The hut itself was kept warm at all times. The crescentic stone of the southern California Indians used in such "baking" was unknown here.[12]

According to an elderly Maricopa woman, Josepha Juan, on the other hand, the running was confined to the second set of four days. When she ran to a distant point in the east and stopped, her companions clapped a hand over her mouth, so that she had to breathe through her nose. Then they ran back. A [535] dance was made on each of these four days. A line of girls faced a line of men, the menstruant taking her position at the middle of the line of girls. The lines moved backward and forward. The [533] song used was peculiar to the rite: both song and dance were called tatuma'np. Last Star, an old Kaveltcadom-Maricopa, said this song was tatuma'npĭg, a Maricopa song contrasting with the Kohuana tuma'np, sung at the scalp dance. Tatuma'npĭg referred to purifying the girl, making her strong, industrious, dignified, kind, gentle, able to withstand thirst, run well, etc.[13]

It may well be that we are dealing with a tribal distinction here; the rite devoid of dance, like the Mohave,[14] being Halchidhoma; with the dance, Maricopa.

[304] At the end of the eight-day period, the girl was tattooed.

841 The whole performance was repeated at subsequent menstruations until the girl married; four, five or six times. Should she not marry for several years the performance was nevertheless continued. Throughout the whole period she remained single, not only during the periodic illnesses, salt and meat continued tabu and the scratcher must be used.

343 The puberty hut was built expressly for the first rite at some [981] distance from the dwelling. It was kept for later use as a menstrual shelter. This was much like the storage house, but the

[12] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 865.

[171] [13] Kroeber (*ibid.*, pp. 786–87) records Dieguẽo Tu-tomunp as the equivalent of Mohave and Cocopa Tumanpa, with Tomanp as an alternative name. His Mohave informants identified it as their "Long Tumanpa," one of the forms of the Tumanpa song-series.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 748.

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Maricopa
Mohave
Cocopa

wall poles were not so heavy. Long thin willows were selected for these so that they might lap considerably over the ridge. Dirt was banked halfway up the sides, not all over, and the hut lacked the pit of the storage house. The structure was just large enough for a single person to lie.

Throughout their lives, women left their dwellings for these shelters during their monthly illnesses. Meat and salt were again tabu at this time, and the scratching stick, kept in the hut, must be used. They bathed each morning, but did not run to the east. There they worked at their basketry and the like; other women and girls, menstruants and otherwise, joining them in their activities and eating with them there.

A girl at first menstruation was called matavi'ʀ[A] (meaningless?) or macâxai' matavi'ʀ[A]; any menstruant ha'kwĭnyavĭ'g; the menstrual or puberty hut literally ha'kwĭnyavĭn,âvâ', "menstruant's house"; the menstrual period and flow, n,ihwĭ'tk, "red," or by a euphemism xakn,ivi'k, "living away."

MANNERISMS, CUSTOMARY BEHAVIOR, AND SAYINGS

Like all Indians, these people can sit endlessly saying nothing and looking fixedly into space. It made no difference whether a stranger like myself was present or not. On the other hand, they can become excessively talkative and are at all times ready to joke and laugh. If there is any one noticeable feature, it is their constant spontaneous humor. I observed this before I became aware that Kroeber had recorded exactly the same characteristic of the Mohave.[15] Mr. E. W. Gifford tells me that the Cocopa impressed him as more humorously inclined than the central Californian tribes with whom he is familiar. It may be that this is a lower Colorado Yuman trait.

A humorous incident will illustrate. A group of women once went to gather berries. A man, who had gone hunting early, was returning still early in the day when he met them. Spying a big hole in the ground, he used two knuckles to imitate deer tracks leading to it. He called to them to come look at it. He asked, "You see those tracks? What do you think it is?" They said it looked like deer tracks. He said, "If you are sure, you had better sit around and watch that hole. I will run home to get something to dig with. Your baskets are just the thing to

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 731.